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Dagoudane-Pikine, a Demographic and Sociological Study
/Dagoudane-Pikine. Étude demographique et sociologique/

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491 [131] At kilometer 13 on the Dakar-Rufisque highway and branching off at a right angle to the latter there is a side road with a sign bearing the notice: Dagoudane-Pikine. Two hundred meters farther on, just beyond the church on the left, the road forks, and the right branch, after passing between two gas stations, in turn divides in two. These three roads, after describing several more or less sinuous meanders, take a northwest direction and traverse the agglomeration from end to end, the east road and the west road being symmetrical in relation to the center one.

133 361 Viewed from an airplane, the agglomeration has, in general, the shape of a large rectangle laid flat, its length measuring two kilometers and the median width 1,240 meters. This impression of flatness is deceptive, for the ground is slightly hilly, and the 2 CV which ventures into the cross streets may have the disagreeable experience of not being able to climb back up certain sandy slopes. Very schematically the terrain appears thus: the two center streets and the west one extend along the summit of one dune, with a depression between the two. To the west of the west street, the land descends slightly and then rises again before dropping down to the Niayes. The east street, on the contrary, is located halfway up the slope of a dune, the summit of which runs along the center street and is separated from the latter by a depression which sinks down more and more as one turns northward. Finally, to the east, the land rises again slightly before the railway which skirts Pikine and bounds it on the east. On the north it is -- or rather was, for the land was already divided into lots in 1960, the date of the investigation -- the route of the Niayes which forms the line of demarcation, and on the west the Niayes themselves. /156/ On the south, except for the sheds of the ICOTAF in the eastern part, there is no clear boundary.

36 For the visitor who views the agglomeration for the first time, Pikine leaves a contradictory impression: first, of uniformity and monotony. It is undoubtedly easy to orient

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36 oneself once one has grasped the principle of the cutting up of the city into four sections by the three axes of roads, just as it is easy to align the principal landmarks on each of the two extreme axes: on the west road the Chavanel house opposite the first market, then the commissariat, the mosque,

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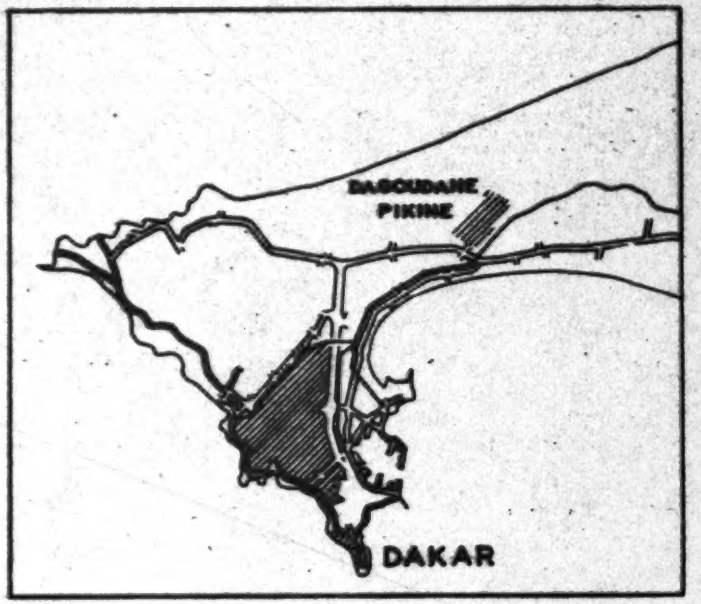

36 and on the left, halfway, the / map appears here/ big market with, at the end, the block that houses the cinema El-Karim and a business; on the east road, at the right, the business of the Syrian, then, after the turns, the district /cité/ named after the ICOTAF because it is adjacent to the lands occupied by the factory, a long space as yet unoccupied, and finally, on the left, first the cinema El-Hilal, and, some 200 meters beyond, the second district named after the Pépinière. On the center road, by contrast, there is no notable building, but simply, towards the middle, two large empty spaces on both sides of the road, with a sports field on the right. But if one

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36 leaves the principal streets, the landmarks disappear, /157/ all the parcels resemble one another, crossroads at angles succeed crossroads, wooden structures are lined up one after the other, different and yet similar. The contrast is therefore great between Pikine and the so-called irregular quarters of Dakar, Wakhinane or Baye Gayndé. One is easily lost in both cases; in the second, it is because of the disordered jumble of lanes that wind in every direction, whereas in the first it is because of the geometrical regularity of the streets and the almost perfect alignment of enclosures and walls, which finally eliminate all originality and every distinctive sign. It is impossible, on the other hand, to compare Pikine with the Médina or the new quarters. In the latter, the streets are paved, sometimes lighted, electricity is common in the windows of the houses, and the buildings of durable material far outweigh the wooden huts. In the former, on the contrary, only the broad axes are tarred, while elsewhere sand is king, and although here and there one finds some durable buildings outside the two districts, the great majority of the huts are of wood, sometimes of straw. Village, shanty-town, or city? One does not know how to answer this question. Moreover, another contrast, to which reference has already been made, complicates it: the difference which distinguishes the two districts of the ICOTAF and the Pépinière, on the one hand, from the other quarters of Pikine on the other. The former are actually comparable to Ouagouniaye or Bopp, and therefore this duality of habitat, and consequently of living conditions, leads to a modification of the initial question: Is Pikine not made up of a city and a village? Is not the unity of the Pikine agglomeration merely artificial?

175 369 423 One is more inclined to believe this if one considers the origin and history of the district. Before 1952 Pikine did not exist, and instead the bush stretched out, with monkeys, jackals, etc. Only this bush belonged to the state, and it [166] was on these government lands that it was decided to relocate the inhabitants of the irregular quarters who had to be expelled from Dakar, in order to realize the planned works of urbanization.

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175 369 [423] urbanization. An initial slice was portioned out, and a parcel was allocated to the head of each family that was expelled. Ownership granted an uncertain title, but it could become definite if the occupant improved his parcel by building a durable dwelling on it. At first the authorities hardly believed in the existence of Pikine; there was no easy communication with Dakar, since the auto road did not yet exist, there was no connection by express bus, no stores, etc. It was believed that the people expelled would return to occupy other lands on the outskirts of Dakar. Contrary to all expectation. /158/ Pikine lived, prospered, and grew by the same process that had given it birth, to the point that today [435] the parcel which originally had no value costs from 30,000 to 40,000 francs. On the other hand, the dwellings that the Office de l'Habitat has now built in the districts are [426] sold on credit to those who have the desire and the means to obtain them.

Pikine thus originated through an administrative decision; it is an agglomeration which has no tradition, no past, a city of recent date and entirely created. Moreover, this brief historical account brings to light another difference which has to do with the mode of peopling it: in the districts it is voluntary, while in the quarters it has been more or less imposed by the administration.

121 This assemblage of peculiar traits make Pikine a very interesting city from the sociological point of view. The investigation, which was conducted during the latter half of 1960, pursued a threefold goal: first, to collect a certain number of general data which would complete or confirm those which had already been gathered: then to examine to what extent the difference in housing conditions did or did not produce a perceptible difference in behavior and style of living, especially with regard to the family; finally, in correlation with the preceding problem, to study the evolution of family behavior in an urban environment and to observe the appearance of new familial structures better adapted to an urban environment than the traditional family.

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125 Before going into a detailed analysis, let us look briefly at the conditions under which the investigation was conducted. Actually there were two of them, the first by [124] questionnaire with an investigator, the second by interviews conducted through the medium of an interpreter. Since one of the aims was to examine carefully the repercussion of the housing conditions on the social reality, we divided the sample into two strata. The first includes the two districts of the Pépinière and the ICOTAF, which together contain the more important dwellings of durable construction and each of which forms a whole -- this is not the case for the district of the Police, still embryonic. (If we have not added the district of the T.P. of Cape Verde to this stratum as we had originally intended, it is because we were obliged to replace the three dwellings drawn by three others as a result of the ill-will of one of the persons responsible.) This drawing was made for 1/10th in order to obtain a sufficient number of replies. As for the /159/ second stratum, it included all the rest of the quarters, and a drawing of 1/20th sufficed. The sampling frame was furnished by the plan of the division into lots, the statistical unit being the parcel. Each parcel was given a number, and the drawing was done with the aid of a table of random numbers. The second stratum included all the parcels located on this side of the road of the Niayes, with the exception of some ten among them located farther along and already occupied, a total of 5,740, giving a sample of 287 parcels. The sampling frame for the stratum of the districts was made up from the data given by the Office de l'Habitat relating to the parcels which were supposed to be occupied at the time of the investigation. That made 500, hence 50 in the sample; in fact, of these 50 there were eight that were still vacant or not completely finished, leaving 42. As for the second phase of the investigation, we have been obliged, as a result of the insufficient resources at our disposal, to reduce the second stratum by drawing in the second stage two parcels for three out of the original sample. The number of the first, however, has remained intact.

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125 The questionnaire of the first investigation pertains to
124 indispensable socio-demographic data and to housing conditions; as for the interviews, although permitting a definite framework, they were conducted in a very flexible way to give the interlocutor the maximum liberty of expression and thus to gather information on attitudes and opinions concerning family problems: education, marriage portion, marriage, polygamy, etc.

128 We shall not present here the complete record of this double investigation, but simply a certain number of results which give a somewhat more precise idea of the social reality at Pikine.

I. Demographic Elements

162 The total population of Pikine during the winter of 1960, not counting visitors and transients, comes to 28,780 inhabitants (1). The first stratum numbers 25,660 persons and the

1. A brief calculation of error shows that the population of Pikine has a 95% chance of being made up of between 26,286 and 31,374, the standard deviation being 1,247.

the second 3,120. This figure calls for the following remarks.

167 1) In winter the seasonal migrants who come to work at
166 Dakar during the dry season have set out again for their homes /160/ in order to farm. Thus it is probable that the population of Pikine, like that of Dakar, is larger during the months from December to April (1).

1. It will suffice to refer to the results of the demographic investigation that took place in March 1961 to verify the magnitude of this event.

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162 361 2) One often hears figures on the order of 40,000 or 50,000 advanced for the total population of Pikine. It seems that there may be a distinct exaggeration there and that the reason for it is the following: a good many parcels are unoccupied, as they are bare or built up but uninhabited. Out of a sample of 287 parcels, 65 were unoccupied, making 22.6%. One comes across bare lands in all the quarters but the phenomenon is particularly noticeable in one of the first quarters of Pikine, namely, Maka-Kolobane, and naturally in the new subdivisions which are adjacent to Thiaroye-Gare. 162 473 Here it is normal, elsewhere it is less so, and one may ask whether a certain number of owners, although already possessing a residence in Dakar, have not obtained the right to certain parcels in spite of the administration. Be that as [123] it may, it has been impossible for me to investigate this further since the subject is taboo and the mere fact of mentioning it at one time or another has resulted in serious prejudices against carrying out the investigation.

162 3) This figure confirms the one obtained in the investigation conducted in the previous year during the same period by Father Martin, which gave a little more than 22,000 persons. An increase of 6,000 individuals in one year, taking into account the lots divided up in the course of the year or the buildings finished by the Office de l'Habitat in the districts, is nothing extraordinary.

[361] 4) With its 30,000 inhabitants Pikine is to be classed in the first rank of the agglomerations of the suburbs of Dakar, far ahead of the traditional villages of Cambérène, Thiaroye, and others, and the size of its population gives it a place apart; it is no longer a village, but a city.

Let us now examine the structure according to age and ethnic group. The following table shows the division of men and women into their age classes and according to ethnic groups; the pyramid that follows recapitulates the total results.

162 882 The age pyramid makes two phenomena apparent. On the one hand, there is the indentation of the class from 15 to 19 years of age. This gap is characteristic of all the cities of Africa. It probably has two principal causes: first, an

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162 erroneous estimate of the age /161/ /Table 1 appears here/
882 /162/ of young people, which is of a psycho-sociological order. The adolescents are either very much children, and one then gives them less than 15 years -- or they are already considered adults, thus more than 20 years old. /Diagrams appear here./ Without commenting on this error, let us nevertheless note that this fact is correlative to a global situation in which youth is difficult to recognize as such in the society, and where passage from childhood to adulthood is accomplished without the transition of adolescence.

162 /163/ The other cause is of an objective order: Pikine
[166] is a city composed largely of migrants coming from their villages, as we shall see farther on, and the most favorable age for rural migration is between 20 and 30.

The other phenomenon clearly perceptible on the pyramid is the successive bulge of each of the two sides of the pyramid; in the city the old women are proportionately less numerous than the men of the same age. Despite the possibility of errors of estimation on the part of the persons concerned, the subjective impressions of an investigator confirm this fact: in Pikine one finds fewer old women than old men.

The percentage of persons more than 60 years old is, moreover, low: only 3%. The population as a whole is very young. It is calculated that 53.6% are less than 20 years old, which leaves 43.4% adults.

Another remarkable fact is a slight imbalance of the sex ratio in favor of women; 47.5% men as against 52.3% women. We observe an inverse structure in Dakar; the census of 1955 shows that the percentage of women increases as one goes from the center to the periphery. Ouakam, Yof, Cambérène, Thiaroye, Yembeul, and Mbao, like Pikine, have a female population larger than the male population. Only the first are old villages, and this fact is not surprising. On the contrary, the building of Pikine is of very recent date and it is a matter of a city. Let us note, finally, that in the districts the sex ratio is slightly higher than in the rest of the quarters: 54% women as against 46% men, and then again one finds 52.3% and 47.7%. We shall see later whether

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Wolof MS 30
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Table 1. Population by sex, age, and ethnic group.

TOTAL		Age Groups	WOLOF		SÉRÈRE		TOUCOULEUR		PEUL		Moors		BAMBARA		Others		TOTAL
M	W		M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	
900	640	0 à 1	490	340	70	40	190	140	60	40	40	20	30	20	20	40	1 540
2 630	2 070	1 à 4	1 440	1 250	70	100	560	370	160	60	140	40	170	80	90	170	4 700
2 120	2 740	5 à 9	1 200	1 520	100	160	470	610	40	120	80	100	110	120	120	110	4 860
1 400	1 280	10 à 14	770	560	0	120	220	390	60	40	80	60	130	60	140	50	2 680
590	1 070	15 à 19	350	520	20	120	60	210	30	40	60	20	60	90	10	70	1 660
570	1 420	20 à 24	290	770	40	130	60	260	40	90	80	40	0	80	60	50	1 990
520	1 680	25 à 29	320	950	40	140	100	420	10	60	20	60	30	40	0	10	2 200
850	1 240	30 à 34	420	720	80	80	160	260	50	40	80	40	30	40	30	60	2 090
960	1 080	35 à 39	440	660	70	80	200	230	80	50	20	20	90	0	60	40	2 040
900	580	40 à 44	540	380	30	10	210	100	30	20	20	40	70	20	0	10	1 480
710	420	45 à 49	430	220	0	20	110	130	60	20	40	20	40	0	30	10	1 130
650	400	50 à 54	310	270	10	0	60	70	20	20	100	0	50	40	100	0	1 050
370	150	55 à 59	170	90	0	40	100	0	20	0	20	0	0	20	60	0	520
510	330	60 et +	310	260	20	20	100	30	20	0	0	20	20	0	40	0	840
13 680	15 100		7 480	8 510	550	1 060	2 600	3 220	680	600	780	480	830	610	760	620	28 780
28 780			15 990		1 610		5 820		1 280		1 260		1 440		1 380		

*a = to; et = and.

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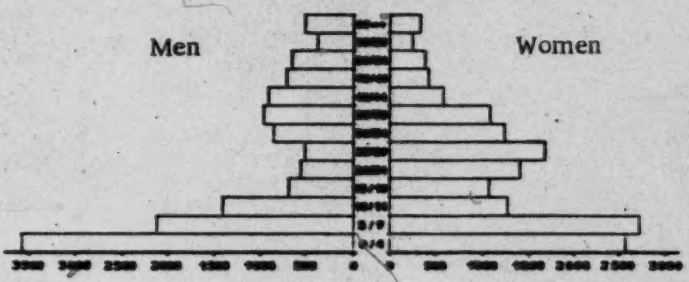
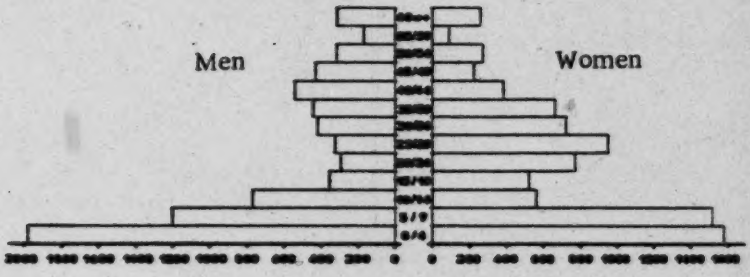
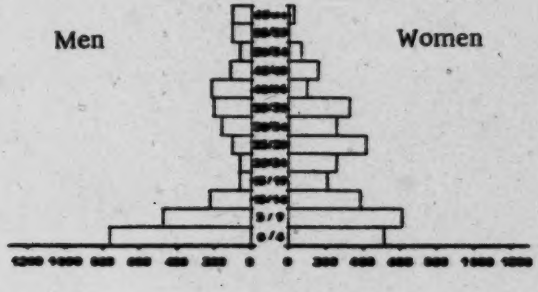
Total Population



Wolof



Toucouleur



S 162 /163 cont./ it is possible to discover a likely explanation for this phenomenon.

S 162 128 Let us now turn to the data peculiar to each ethnic group. Let us determine first the classification followed and the reasons which have led to its adoption. The Lebou have been grouped with the Wolof because of their small number and also because, in a city recently created, their traditional particularism has not found the means or the occasion to develop as in the old villages of the peninsula. The few Sarakolé investigated have been grouped with the Toucouleur /Tukolor/ insofar as they are natives of the Valley. By Bambara, both the Bambara proper as well as the Khassonké /Kassonke/ are to be understood. Finally, under the category "Others" we have assembled all the other ethnic groups, primarily the Casamançais /people of Casamance/, Manjack and Diola, Guineans, and the natives of the other African states.

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The Wolof

S W 162 Numbering almost 16,000, they constitute 55.6% of the population. This majority is close to that of Dakar. The sex ratio is 108 women for 100 men. The age pyramid shows the same anomalies as the general pyramid, with the characteristic gap for the period 15-19 years, and the successive bulge on each side. 52.8% of the population is less than 20 years old, which is the general percentage.

The Sérère

S SR 162 166 Their total number does not exceed 5.6% of that of the total population; 50% are less than 20 years old. The most characteristic trait which is peculiar to the Sérère /Serer/ is the size of the female population -- hence of the female migration: out of three individuals there are two women and one man. In connection with this fact, the indentation from 15-19 years of age is much less pronounced here on the female side than in the other ethnic groups: the young Sérère women and girls soon leave their village for the city.

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000 and girls soon leave their village for the city.

The Toucouleur

162 This is the second ethnic group in order of importance, since they make up 20.22% of the population. The young people less than 20 years old constitute 55.3%, and the sex ratio is 123 women to 100 men, clearly higher than that of the Wolof. But the remarkable phenomenon which appears on the above pyramid and distinguishes it from the Wolof pyramid is that this imbalance is much more pronounced between the ages of five and 20 than at other ages; if the number of boys from 0 to five years old is much larger than that of girls (68 girls for 100 boys), the sex ratio between five and 20 years is 161 girls as against 100 boys, and subsequently drops again to 136 as against 100. The same phenomenon is observable in Dakar according to the census of 1955, and this demographic structure is peculiar to the city, since the census made in the Fouta by the MISOES shows an inverse structure: in the Valley the boys are more numerous than the girls. Why? The answers 162 166 that were given in the Toucouleur households questioned on the subject oriented the explanation in the following direction: on the one hand, the girls are reared by their mother and remain with her in the city; on the other hand, when his sons have come of age, /165/ the father likes to send them back to the country so that they may attend the Koranic school.

162 For the remainder of the ethnic groups we shall limit ourselves to presenting the same data in the table below, which at the same time sums up the total results. /Table 2 appears here./

This recapitulative table, besides the information already given, shows clearly the difference which distinguishes the first three ethnic groups from the last three, the Peul being at the extremity: among the latter the sex ratio is below 100 and the percentage of adult women clearly drops below 50%, whereas it is the reverse among the others. This [166] is easily explained if one notes that the Moors, the Bambara,

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Table 2

% of the total population	Wolof	Sérère	Toucouleur	Peul	Moors	Bambara	Others	Total
	55.5	5.6	20.2	4.5	4.4	5	4.8	100
% of young people less than 20 years old	55.6	50	55.3	50.8	50.8	65	59.4	Av. 53.6
Sex ratio (number of women per 100 men)	108	200	123	88	61	73	81	110
% of women out of the group less than 20 years old	49.7	67.5	52.9	44.4	37.5	42.5	53.7	50.5
% of women between 5 and 20 years old	55	78	71	60.6	45	47.3	46	61.9
% of adult women	57.2	64.2	58.4	49.5	38.7	42.1	32.1	54.3
Average % of women (in each ethnic group)	53.2	66.6	53.3	46.9	38.1	42.4	45	54

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167 and the Others (some Manjack and Diola are an exception)
166 come from a distance and that it is therefore normal to see the men emigrate to Dakar and the women remain in the country. On the other hand, one can expect the native Wolof or Sérère women to accompany their husbands, fathers, or brothers to join them when they are settled in the city. An anomaly already pointed out exists no less in this case: Pikine appears somewhat if not altogether like a city reservoir of women, at least like a refuge for them.

/166/ II. Place of Origin and Date of Arrival

166 If one considers the history of Pikine, a preliminary question arises which does not bear on the "where-did-you-come-from" or "when-did-you-arrive?" and which is this: "why did you come to Pikine?" Indeed, let us not forget that in the beginning the Pikine population consisted only of the people who were expelled from the irregular quarters of Dakar, to whom a parcel of land was granted in compensation. The problem is to know whether in 1960 the situation had not changed. Here is the average percentage of the heads of families expelled out of the total, and within each ethnic group. /Table 3 appears here./

In the districts one does not count any family head expelled, since, upon their request, they have all been housed by the following results for the other quarters: 45% of the heads of families have been expelled, and 46% have not. This test is important because it proves that in eight years the mode of the peopling of Pikine has radically changed: from being forced to depart, it has today become voluntary. Another fact is significant for this evolution and its meaning: one finds in our sample a score of families, say 8.2%, who came directly from their former residence to Pikine without going by way of Dakar, and all except one arrived in the course of the year preceding the investigation. The village migrants come to Pikine for the same reasons that impel
[369] them to come to Dakar, and the inhabitants of Rufisque or of Thiès do not think of leaving the city to settle in Pikine.

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Table 3

	W	S	T	P	M	B	O	Av.
Expelled	48	52.9	44.2	30.2	35.7	54.6	31.2	45
Non-expelled	52	47.1	55.8	69.2	64.3	45.4	58.8	55

/166 cont./

166 Coming to Pikine means coming to the city, and that is an
369 indication of urban maturity which shows that Pikine is tending toward a relative sociological autonomy with respect to Dakar (1). /167/ /Table 4 appears here./

1. Autonomy does not mean independence, and it is quite certain that Pikine is a result of Dakar and that without Dakar there would be no Pikine. We wish to say simply this: migration to Pikine effectively brings about insertion into an urban environment through its distance from the Dakar agglomeration, and permits a migrant to participate in the economic and social advantages of the city.

166 /168/ As for the high percentages of non-expelled among the Peul, Moors, and the other ethnic groups, it is difficult to give a reason for them. All that one can suggest as far as the Moors are concerned is that they are chiefly
[563] merchants and that they establish their shops where the population is to be found. It is therefore normal that their presence in Pikine is the result, not of compulsion born of expulsion, but of choice for commercial motives.

Except for several hundred children less than five years old, no resident was born in Pikine. Two things are interesting to know:

1) Where do they come from, what is the respective proportion of their region of origin?

2) When did they arrive in Dakar?

Here is first, for the male heads of families, a detailed table, in absolute figures, for the places of birth divided according to age classes, and then the table in percentages from the principal regions, regrouped this time into only five categories in order to make the principal tendencies more apparent. /Table 5 appears here./

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Table 4. — Place of birth by age class of the family heads (man).

AGE \ REGION	1 Cap Vert	2 Thiès	3 Saint-Louis	4 Dagana	5 Podor	6 Matam	7 Bambey	8 Diourbel	9 Louga	10 Sine-Saloum	11 Tambacounda	12 Casamance	13 Mauritanie	14 Mali	15 Guinée	16 ex-A. O. F.*	17 Elsewhere	TOTAL
20	9	8	0	2	2	3	0	2	0	3	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	31
30	13	17	2	0	7	0	1	4	4	6	1	4	8	3	3	0	2	75
35	5	10	5	2	3	4	4	15	9	8	0	2	2	5	2	2	0	78
40	12	10	0	6	6	4	2	6	20	2	0	0	0	2	3	3	0	79
45	6	17	4	2	4	3	6	4	10	3	0	1	6	4	4	0	2	72
50	3	6	0	2	2	0	2	4	2	2	0	6	4	4	0	1	0	53
55	4	4	7	2	4	0	0	2	2	4	0	4	2	4	2	2	2	39
60 +	2	10	2	2	2	4	0	0	2	4	0	2	4	4	2	0	2	38
Total	54	82	20	18	30	18	15	37	57	36	1	19	22	27	14	8	6	464

*Formerly French West Africa

Table 5. – Percentage from places of origin in each age class.

Age	Cape Verde	Thiés	Saint-Louis	River	Baol	Sine-Saloum	Casamance	Mauritania	Mali	Elsewhere	Total
20	29	25.8	0	22.6	6.4	9.8		6.4			100
30 to 39	11.7	17.6	4.6	10.5	24.2	9.9	3.9	6.6	5.2	5.8	100
40 to 49	12	17.9	2.6	16.6	31.8	3.2	0.7	4	4.6	6.6	100
50 to 59	7.7	11	7.7	11	22	11	11	4.4	8.8	5.4	100
60 +	5.3	26.3	5.3	21	5.3	10.5	5.3	0	10.5	10.5	100
Total	11.6	17.7	4.3	14.3	23.5	8	4.1	4.7	5.8	3	100

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166 From this, it is shown that:

1) The Senegalese naturally make up the great majority
[167] of the population: 86%. The rest is divided between the Mauritanians and the Mali.

/169/ 2) The Cape Verde Peninsula includes only 11.6% of the family heads, which indirectly confirms the fact that more than 90% of them are emigrants. The region which stands at the head is that of Baol, then Thiès and the River.

3) The significant figures which have been underlined make it appear that: the young people from 20 to 30 years old come either from neighboring regions or from the Valley.

-- The adult men from 30 to 50 years old are originally from there.

-- The majority of elderly men are again either from Thiès or the Valley, or from the outside. It is to be noted
[167] that the percentage of 10.5 for the Mali or outsiders more than 60 years old, as well as that of 11 for the Casamançais from 50 to 60 years old, is distinctly higher than their average percentage.

One may perhaps answer the second of the above questions in two ways by indicating either the date of their arrival in Dakar or their age at the present time. In the table for the dates of arrival we have grouped together the secondary ethnic groups while separating them from the Moors who are too special a case to be included with the others, and we have divided the time into five-year periods. /Table 6 appears here./

The period during which the arrivals were the most important is the one after the war. It seems that the war may also have somewhat slowed up a movement which was already weakened before 1940 and which continued even after 1950 for the Toucouleur.

Let us now see the average age at which the migrant arrived in Dakar: /170/ /Table 7 appears here./

Table 6

Ethnic Group / Date	W	S	T	M	O	Av.
55-60	5.9	12.9	6.6	16.7	3.7	6
50-55	12.3	13.1	19	16.7	13.9	14
45-50	27.2	32	29	0	13.9	25
40-45	16.1	13	10	8.3	16.7	15
35-40	17.2	6.5	14.4	25	17.6	16
30-35	5.2	0	10	8.3	14	8
25-30	7.4	10	4.4	25	16.5	9
20-25	3	0	2.2	0	0	2
Before 20	5.7	12.7	4.4	0	3.7	5
	100	100	100	100	100	100

/170 cont./

Table 7

166

Ethnic Group	W	S	T	P	M	B	O	Av.
Age	28.1	25	28.9	25.5	28.9	25.6	27.2	27.9

The Sérère leave their homes at a younger age than the others, whereas the Toucouleur and the Moors are the oldest.

If we compare this last result with the tables of the places of origin in each age class, we may reasonably suppose that the first wave of migration toward Dakar set out from Thiès and from the Valley and in a lesser proportion from the outside. A second wave followed it, coming from Baol, and in recent years Thiès and the Valley have again recovered first place. The Diola in Pikine are too few in number to enable one to obtain valid data on the subject of their migrations.

166
369 A final point merits examination: what does their arrival in Pikine mean for the people of Pikine? Or, what experience of the urban environment have they had before this date? For that we have divided the replies into seven categories: those who, before Pikine, lived in only one city, for example, Dakar or Rufisque, and those who have always lived in a city but have known several residences. Then we took as a criterion for the others the age of their arrival in Dakar: before 15 years, between 15 and 30, between 30 and 50, and over 50. A final category is made up of those who come directly from the bush to Pikine. Here (p. 23) are the results in percentages and by ethnic groups:

It is certain that the age at which one arrives in the city has a considerable influence on the facility of adaptation to the urban environment, and that the difference is great between the citizen who has always lived in the city and the peasant who comes there looking for work at the age of 40 or 50. The preceding table therefore permits one to understand from a certain point of view the degree of acculturation to an urban environment of the Pikine population.

/170 cont./

166
369 It will suffice to regroup together the first three categories -- since one can combine with the citizens those who arrived in the city when they were still children -- as well as the last three, and to leave the fourth intact. /171/ /Tables 8 and 9 appear here./

A third of the family heads are therefore original citizens, a little more than a third is made up of people who arrived in the city between the ages of 15 and 30, and a little less than a third arrived after the age of 30.

On the other hand, if one considers the differentiation by ethnic group, one finds that the Sérère come ahead of the [167] Wolof, whereas the Moors rob the Toucouleur of last place.

A comparison of the respective rates of urbanization in the districts and in the quarters is very instructive: /172/ /Table 10 appears here./

The contrast between the two lines is very distinct: the proportion of citizens which is close to 60% in the districts is reduced to one-fourth in the quarters, whereas one sees the opposite phenomenon for the category of the Pikine people who arrived in Dakar after the age of 30. Another indication is worth keeping in mind: the Toucouleur are the only ethnic group among whom this difference disappears almost completely, and among whom the peopling of the districts shows the same structure as that of the quarters.

One may sum up the preceding results in the three following remarks:

1) Two-thirds of the adult population of Pikine are country people, the majority of whom arrived in Dakar at the age of about 30, the most important period of immigration being the one after the war.

2) A clear difference distinguishes the districts from the other quarters: in the former, the mode of peopling is solely voluntary and one counts three citizens out of five family heads; in the quarters close to half of the families were originally forced to leave Dakar where they first sought lodgings, and one finds there only one citizen out of five.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 26 --ANALYST]

10: Thoré-23 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS 37
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Table 8

Have lived \ Ethnic Group	W	S	T	M	O	Av.
Only one city	6.5	26.3	4.7	7.1	3	6.6
Always in the city but in several places	27.1	10.5	10.5	14.2	25.8	21.9
Arrived in Dakar before the age of 15	2.8	5.3	7	0	4.5	3.6
Arrived in Dakar between 15 and 30	34.4	52.6	40.6	28.5	42.4	38.3
Arrived in Dakar between 30 and 50	17.8	5.3	30.2	43	18.2	20.4
Arrived in Dakar after 50 years of age	5.7	0	2.3	0	0	3.6
Arrived in Pikine directly from the village	5.7	0	4.7	7.2	6.1	5.4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

10: Thoré--24 S-5 (1960) 1962 M337 Senegal MS37

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Table 9. Rate of urbanization

	W	S	T	M	O	Av.
Citizens	36.4	42.1	22.2	21.3	33.3	32.3
Migrants to the city between 15 and 30 years of age	34.4	56.6	40.6	28.5	42.4	38.3
Migrants to the city after 30 years of age	29.2	5.3	37.2	50.2	24.3	29.4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

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Table 10

Ethnic Group		W	S	T (1)	O	Av.
Citizens	Q.....	32.2	37.5	21.6	32.1	24.3
	D.....	94	66.7	25	40	59.5
To Dakar between 15 and 30 years of age	Q.....	30.5	62.5	40.5	39.3	39.1
	D.....	6	0	41.7	60	28.6
To Dakar after 30 years of age	Q.....	31.3	0	37.9	28.6	36.6
	D.....	0	33.3	33.3	0	11.9
Total	Q.....	100	100	100	100	100
	D.....	100	100	100	100	100

1. We have not mentioned the Moors since there is no Moorish family head in the districts.

/172 cont./

166 369 3) The migrations of the Toucouleur and the Moors show, for each of them, their own peculiarities, which give these two ethnic groups of immigrants an unquestionable originality.

/173/

III. Work, Socio-occupational Structure

162 463 128 Three problems are interesting in this section: the socio-occupational distribution properly speaking, unemployment, and the place of work.

The crude results of the distribution of the occupations are too scattered to show the broad outlines of the structure. It has seemed to us preferable to regroup the various professions into six large categories and to present the table of percentages of each within each ethnic group. Let us specify what each category corresponds to: that without any occupation, we have put the marabouts who do not have any activity, whether they practice full time -- which is rare --, part time, or do not have any students at all. /Table 11 appears here./

It is necessary to add the merchants to the artisans. The category "manual workers" is the largest: it includes the /174/ laborers, orderlies, chauffeurs, in short, all those who do not have an occupational qualifications. By staffs one should understand foremen as well as office employees, accountants, or typists, provided they belong to private enterprises. Under the rubric of "officials" are listed all those who are concerned with public functions from the local or general staff: policemen, government officials, or employees of the municipality. For each ethnic group the first line gives the percentages in the quarters and the second the corresponding percentages in the districts. The bottom line shows the total result, and the two preceding ones the results in the quarters and in the districts.

This table deserves a brief explanation:

162 463 B27 1st. There are only very few cultivators. One would think that the proximity of the Niayes of Cape Verde and the importance of truck-gardening cultivation would favor

[Text continues on P. 28--Analyst]

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10: Thoré--27 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS 37 Pikine Wolof MS 30 Serer FM 32 Fulani MS 11 Peul

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Table 11. Occupations in % within each ethnic group.*

		Without	Cultivators	Artisans	Manual Workers	Teachers	Officials	Total
W	QD	7.6	1.8	28.8	44.1	8.5	9.2	100
	QD			5.8	17.6	17.8	58.8	100
S	QD		9.1	27.2	63.7			100
	QD					33.3	66.7	100
T	QD	2.6	0	21	47.4	13.2	15.8	100
	QD				8.5	16.5	75	100
P	QD			20	60	10	10	100
	QD				50		50	100
M	QD			64.2	35.8			100
	QD							
B	QD				71.4		28.6	100
	QD					20	80	100
O	QD		6.5	18.75	62.5		12.5	100
	QD					64.7	33.3	100
	Q	4.7	1.9	27.6	48.1	7.5	10.2	100
	D	0	0	2.4	11.9	21.4	64.3	100
Av.		4.3	1.7	25.3	44.9	8.7	15.1	100

* [For explanation of Table 11, see category 116, p. 26 and 28--Analyst]

/174 cont./

162 the development of agricultural work; there has been none
463 of this. Indeed, the lands are the property of the Lebou of
[427] neighboring villages and the cost of renting is high. Gardening therefore remains the privileged domain of the old villages of the peninsula, Keur-Massar, Thiaroye-sur-Mer, and Cambérène.

2nd. The great majority of the labor force is made up of non-specialized workers: almost 45% manual workers without occupational qualifications.

3rd. The Moors have a special place: two-thirds are merchants who keep shop, and the last third is made up almost exclusively of butchers who have been classed among the "manual workers."

4th. The most interesting feature is the difference which distinguishes the occupational structure of the districts from that of the quarters: in the first, no shop, either Moorish or Wolof, and practically no artisan; in the second, practically one worker out of two has no occupational qualifications, whereas this proportion drops to 12% in the districts; finally, and above all, out of three heads of families in the former, two are officials, whereas there is no more than one official out of ten in the latter.

362 The reason for this recruitment is solely of an economic
463 nature. Almost all the inhabitants of the districts are owners
[427] of their dwellings or will become such after they have made their payments. Now, these are spread over five years and
[426] have been calculated in such a way that the monthly payment does not exceed a quarter of the salary received. For the cheapest dwellings this is equal to a payment of 5,000,
[465] therefore to a monthly salary of about 20,000. A /175/ guard, houseboy, or a laborer does not earn this sum and is incapable of procuring a dwelling of this type. The dwellings of the districts are thus principally reserved for the officials, and then for the staffs, who have an adequate and
571 an assured salary. We therefore witness here the appearance of this phenomenon of social differentiation observable in many other African countries; it consists of the existence

/175 cont./

571 of a favored sector of the population with privileged living and working conditions, which is composed largely of officials, but which it is nevertheless difficult, in the present state of research, to characterize as bourgeoisie, or as a class. With what sort of social layer are we dealing? The study of the educational level and schooling will show us this.

464 The investigation does not bear specifically on unemployment; nevertheless, it is impossible to speak of Pikine without mentioning the importance of this problem. That unemployment is considerable may already be deduced from the fact that most of the workers do not have any occupational training which would permit them to find employment. Those who were between 18 and 65 years of age and who were without steady work at the time of the investigation have been regarded as unemployed. This category therefore includes not only those who were unemployed all the time, but also those who did "odd jobs," finding a little work to do here and there to help out a friend, a neighbor, or a relative.

In the first stratum we have listed 79 unemployed, and four in the second, which leads to a total of 1,580 unemployed out of an economically active male population of 5,530, or a rate of unemployment of 29.3%. For the family heads this rate is not quite as high: 26.3%. Here is how it is distributed according to ethnic groups, age classes, and the educational level. /Table 12 appears here./

/176/ Unemployment is naturally much less high among the literate, all of whom have some kind of occupational qualification, than among the illiterate. The former, moreover, are for the most part young people. The proportion of unemployed is at a minimum in the 30-year class. The case of those over 50 years old is more serious, since it is in general a matter of people whose age, lack of occupational qualifications, and often the late date of their immigration gravely jeopardize their chance of finding employment.

Let us note in conclusion that the rate of unemployment of the Toucouleur is the lowest, although their age at immigration is higher, and that their average competence does not exceed that of the other ethnic groups. This fact, as the investigations of the Toucouleur migration by the MISOES

10: Thoré--30 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS37

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Table 12

Ethnic Group	W	S	T	P	M	B	O	Av.
% of unemployed	28.9	36.4	23.7	40	42.9	28.6	25	26.3
% of unemployed	literate 16					illiterate 29.2		
% of unemployed	20 to 30 years old 25.8		30 to 50 years old 22.7		50 and over 33.6		Average 26.3	

/176 cont./

464 and by A. Diop have shown, is connected with the effective solidarity of the ethnic group; certain occupations are their monopoly, and when a Toucouleur occupying a position wishes to go back to the Fouta, he will see to it that one of his "brothers" succeeds him. No doubt there is the same solidarity with regard to work everywhere, but it does not seem to have the same effectiveness.

464 484 A final point remains to be discussed: where do the residents of Pikine go to work? They rely on two principal places of work: Dakar, and Pikine itself. Furthermore, a certain number of persons are employed either in the Niayes or in the concerns located on the route from Rufisque outside of Dakar to the interior of the peninsula of Cape Verde, and some go still farther, especially some cattle traders or some peddlers whose permanent residence is in Pikine. Here are the respective percentages, by quarters, of workers employed in the different places: /Table 13 appears here./

Table 13

	Quarters	Districts	General Av.
Dakar	66.4	95.2	70.4
Pikine	26.7	4.8	23.7
Cape Verde	6.1	0	5.3
Elsewhere	0.8	0	0.6
Total	100	100	100

469 484 162 The people of Pikine who work locally should be divided into two categories: on the one hand, the employees of the ICOTAF (Industrie /177/ Cotonnière africaine/ African Cotton Industry/); on the other hand, the merchants and artisans. Those who are over fifty have more difficulty in leaving their homes, as a comparison of the three following rates shows:

/177 cont./

464 484 162 Proportion of persons over 50 out of the active labor force 25.3%
Proportion of persons over 50 out of the workers in Pikine 37%
Proportion of persons over 50 out of the workers in Dakar 16%

[463] Thus, old people prefer the traditional trades, jewelers, tailors, merchants, which can be carried on locally.

If one considers the fact that the active male labor force numbers 5,530 individuals and that about 70% of this labor force goes to Dakar to work, one can estimate the number of workers whose place of employment is located in Dakar at about 2,800. Another question pertaining to the frequency of journeys to Dakar shows that 62% of the total labor force, that is to say, about 3,700, make the trip at least once a day. This means that not only the workers but the unemployed as well go to Dakar daily. Dakar thus has a double attraction for the workers of Pikine: as an actual place of employment, and as a place of possible hiring. The two principal means of transportation are: for the officials, the cars called "G.G.," thanks to which they can return for lunch at noon, and for the great majority of others the express buses; only a few have personal means of transportation, mobylettes /bicycles with motors/ or vehicles. The length of the automobile trip from Pikine to the Sandaga market varies from 20 minutes to more than half an hour depending on traffic difficulties. One must add to this the time required to go on foot through the sand from the concession to the bus stop. In a very general way one can say that the worker leaves his house in the morning about seven o'clock and returns to it in the evening between 6:45 and seven o'clock, provided that he does not have errands on the way. This quick analysis therefore shows the role of "bedroom community" that Pikine plays to a certain extent in relation to Dakar.

464 484 [493] 484 494 484 [369] [361]

462 463 162 After the male labor force, it is necessary to say a word about female work. The great majority of the women do not have any occupation other than that of housework: more than two-thirds. The 32% who draw monetary income from their

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work are divided into very different groups: here is the distribution of female occupations by percentages:

/178/ Hairdressers (occupation often held by the griotes)...4.5
Silent partners of weavers 2.2
Dyers 3.7
Saleswomen in markets or stalls 15.5
Cleaning women, laundresses 4.5
Laborer 0.8
Others 68.8
Total 100

Hairdressing is more an ordinary service than remunerative work; it is most often done by the caste women, griotes or jewelers, in exchange for money or for presents which they receive from "free" or "noble" families -- the Wolof term is "guer" -- for whom they are the appointed griotes. It is not unusual, along one of the sandy streets in the shade of a wall, to come across a group of women, one of whom will be braiding the hair of another stretched out flat on her stomach, her head on the knees of her hairdresser.

Equally traditional are the occupations of dyer or silent partner of a weaver. At the extreme opposite is the laborer of the CAFAL who works daily at fixed hours for a definite salary. There are only a few of them in our sample, all of whom are Sérère. The women who do housework or who are laundresses must likewise be classed under this rubric of modern work. The way they use their time is indeed much less whimsical than in the case of the first categories. Between the two one must place the most important occupation, that of saleswoman. And here it is again necessary to distinguish several categories of saleswomen: those who keep a shop or a stall by the side of their houses, those who go to sell at the market of Pikine, and finally those who every day go from Pikine to Dakar to sell their vegetables and their produce at Kermel or at Sandaga.

On the other hand, the positive replies are too numerous to be profitably discussed by ethnic groups and thus to separate out the principal ethnic behaviors. At best it is possible that

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/178 cont./ the jobs most thrust into the modern rhythm, like the last two categories of the saleswomen in the Dakar markets, are held by Wolof of Sérère women. The rate of activity of these last two is generally higher proportionately, since almost 40% of the Wolof or Sérère women are reckoned as having an occupation outside of the household. /179/ while this proportion drops to 13% for the Toucouleur and the other ethnic groups.

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A final point deserves to be mentioned: although one finds some women devoted to traditional occupations in the sample of the districts and even though one or two stalls are to be found there, we have, in turn, not found any woman there who works outside as saleswoman, housekeeper, or typist; the female workers of our sample are all found in the stratum of the quarters.

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In conclusion one may say that acculturation to the urban environment by means of modern work seems for the time being to have left aside the female world. Except for the Wolof and Sérère sectors of the female population, the rest have remained untouched. It is only under the strong pressure of economic motives that the women become reconciled to going to work, and the Sérère women give proof of more initiative than the others. But when this compulsion ceases and the woman again takes up her traditional behavior: housewife, and nothing but housewife. This return to tradition may seem astonishing; it is explained by the educational level of those whom we have called "literate." It is this point that should now be studied.

[462]

IV. Educational Level and Schooling

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If belonging to a specific ethnic group constitutes a fundamental conditioning prior to settling in a city, the educational level, on the contrary, is both a sign and a factor of acculturation. On these grounds, therefore, it also has considerable importance when it is a matter of studying the possible variations of behavior, attitudes, and opinions. The initial results have shown that these were in fact, with

/179 cont./

171 the ethnic group, the two principal criteria of miscegenation.
125 But, at the beginning of the investigation, besides the primary
871 distinction between illiterates and literates, we thought that we could distinguish two groups within this last category. In fact, the literate group is too small, the educational status too limited -- among the family heads of the sample none had had any secondary studies -- for one to be able to retain this subdivision. Therefore all those who had had a minimum of schooling, from the second year elementary course up to C.E.P., with an occasional C.A.P., have been considered literate.

191 /180/ Nevertheless, by combining schooling and the
871 knowledge of French, we have been able to group the family
125 heads of the sample into three categories. The first is made up of the illiterates who do not understand French, except for a few words; the second is made up of those who have a "summary" knowledge of the language, and in this case it is obviously a matter of a partly subjective criterion which depends on the judgment of the investigator. Actually, the decisive test was the following: those for whom the interview of the second investigation was conducted in French and who only rarely appealed to the interpreter were regarded as having a summary knowledge of French. There are very few cases where the conclusion obtained by the application of this test did not confirm the previous judgment of the investigator.

The third category, finally, includes the "literates" in the sense in which we have defined them above.

The following table represents the grouping, in percentages, of these three categories within each ethnic group; furthermore, the districts have been separated from the quarters, and the last line gives the average for the whole of Pikine. /Table 14 appears here./

871 Three principal facts stand out clearly from a reading
191 of this table:

/181/

1) The small number of literates: a little more than one out of five family heads have received a beginning of

[Text continues on p. 37--Analyst]

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10: Thoré--36 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS 37

Table 14

Ethnic Group		W	S	T	P	M	B	O	Av.
Quarters	Il.	45.7	9.1	31.6	20	21.4	37.5	31.5	43.3
	S.	33	27.3	50	60	78.6	50	50	39.5
	L.	21.3	63.6	18.4	20	0	12.5	18.7	17.2
Total		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Districts	Il.	17.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	4.9
	S.	23.6	0	50	50	--	20	0	28.5
	L.	64.7	100	50	50	--	80	100	66.6
Total		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
General average	Il.	43.8	56	27.28	9.1	78.6	28.5	28.5	40
	S.	32.8	24	50	77	21.4	43	45.8	38.5
	L.	23.4	20	22.72	13.9	0	28.5	25.7	21.5
Total		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note: Il. = illiterates; S. = summary knowledge of French.

/181 cont./

191 871 academic training.

2) The great difference between the districts and the other quarters: the percentage of literates in the districts is almost four times the corresponding percentage in the quarters.

191 871 563 3) The very special situation of the Moors: they seem distinctly refractory with regard to modern education and do not show any more evidence of an aptitude or a very urgent desire for the study of French. This trait is characteristic of the originality of the Moorish community. It is not merely a sign, however, but is also a factor, and, as such, it contributes strongly to the withdrawal of this community and to its cultural isolation in the midst of the nascent urban civilization. The Moor has managed to integrate himself in the city -- it would be more accurate to say thrust himself into the city -- without changing his habits of life very much and by keeping intact the compact homogeneity of the group.

191 It is likewise necessary to note another tendency, although less obvious than the preceding ones: the Wolof and Sérère family heads who do not speak French are superior in number to those who speak it; this proportion is, on the contrary, reversed in the other ethnic groups. One must probably seek the cause of this variation in the fact that Pikine is a city close to the Wolof regions and that Wolof is the lingua franca there. The Toucouleur, Bambara, Soussou /Susu/, or Mossi come from much farther away, they have often "labored" in several places before ending up in Dakar, and this experience has not failed to give them some rudiments of French acquired in the course of their previous migrations.

191 871 The evaluation of the preceding results, no longer according to ethnic group but according to age class, gives other indications which at the same time indirectly confirm the above remark. /Table 15 appears here./

/182/ The percentage of literates in proportion to the whole of an age class decreases in proportion to the increase in age. There are proportionately six times more young

/182 cont./

Table 15

Age Class	20-30	30-50	50 +
Illiterate	38.7	34.1	60.2
Summary knowledge	6.5	41.9	30.6
Literate	54.8	24	9.2
Total	100	100	100

people than old who have received a beginning of academic training. Besides, the young people from 20 to 30 years old have either been to school or do not know French because they have not had occasion to learn it outside of school. Thus the generations show a distinct difference, and this can only become more pronounced as an examination of the actual number of pupils enrolled shows.

Here is first the table of the attendance ratio; it refers to children from seven to 14 years old, divided by ethnic groups and sex. /Table 16 appears here./

A comparison with the results of the same inquiry, conducted the preceding year, despite the possible variations of the sampling, indicates distinct progress for the girls, from 62.5% to 82.6% for the boys, and an average of from 45.3 to 63.9. Nevertheless, a great effort must still be made, especially on the part of the female population, since one girl out of two still does not go to school. Let us now distinguish the attendance ratios in the districts and in the quarters. /Table 17 appears here./

/183/ The difference is great between the school behavior of the districts and that of the quarters. First the total: almost all of the children in the districts go to school, nine out of ten, while this proportion drops to three out of five in the quarters.

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/182/

10: Thoré--39 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS30 Wolof MS 30 Serer FM 32 Fulani MS11 Peul

Table 16 [1]

Ethnic Groups	W	S	T	P	M	B	O	Total
Girls	32.65	88.6	46.9	50	100	75	61.54	47.32
Boys	92.5	64.7	79.16	66.6	44.4	72.2	75.86	82.6
Girls + boys	52.58	75	56.16	55.5	68.7	73.5	69	63.9

[1] /school attendance ratio of children 7-14 years old in the city of Pikine. See cat. 116 pp 38 and 41 for explanation — AN/

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Table 17 [1]

Ethnic Groups	W	S	T	P	M	B	O	Total
Q	25.75	71.74	39	50	100	66.6	58.33	40.69
Girls								
D	93.33	100	75	--	--	100	100	89.13
Q	91.66	63.5	76.2	50	44.44	75	76.9	81.2
Boys								
D	100	100	100	100	--	100	66.6	96.9
Q	60.1	66.6	51.6	50	68.7	71.4	68	60
Total G. + B								
D	99	100	81.8	100	--	100	80	91

[1] /school attendance ratio of children 7-14 years old in the city of Pikine — by districts and quarters — see cat. 116 pp 38 and 41 for explanation — AN/

/182/ 10: Thoré--40 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS37 Wolof MS30 Serer FA37 Fulani MS11 Peul

/183 cont./

871 On the other hand, the backwardness of the girls, which was particularly marked among the Wolof and the Toucouleur, disappears almost completely among the Wolof of the districts, whereas one Toucouleur girl out of four in the districts still does not go to school.

191 871 In all respects one observes a radical change which distinguishes the generations: the one of the present parents is, in the majority, illiterate and knows only a little French. The situation is reversed with the rising generation, thanks to the effort toward educational equipment. This upset will be even more noticeable in the female population, for in 20 years more than half the mothers of families living in Pikine will have been to school, while at present one finds scarcely any.

V. Religion

771 795 162 A final factor should be studied because of its considerable cultural influence: that of religion. In Pikine the vast majority of inhabitants are Moslems, so that, in addition to membership in a religious confession properly speaking, we have differentiated membership in a definite Islamic sect. This leads to five different categories within Islam: two of these are sects of wide geographic scope, the Tidjanes and the Khadres, one is peculiar to the Senegal, Muridism, and one is encountered above all in the region of Cape Verde, the Layens; finally, some individuals, while calling themselves Moslems, declare that they do not belong to any sect.

795 162 Here (p.43) is the table of the various sects or religious confessions into which the inhabitants of Pikine are divided, first in absolute figures and then in percentages.

It suffices to underline the points that these tables clearly bring to light. First, the numerical preponderance of the Tidjanes over the assemblage of the other confessions.

/183 cont./

1795 162 In itself alone, the sect accounts for more than half of the population. It is only among the Sérère that Muridism predominates; in all the other ethnic groups it is either non-existant or occupies second place, as among the Wolof.

In the second place, although Tidjanism predominates among the Wolof /184/ /Tables 18 and 19 appear here/ and by a large majority among the Toucouleur, the Peul, and the Sarakolé (1), the Khadres are the ones who are preponderant

1. We have separated the Sarakolé from the Toucouleur because there is a slight difference of religious behavior between them.

in the other groups.

Finally, Pikine is not a city in which the Christian element holds an important place. Unquestionably it is difficult to judge by starting from such a limited sample of Catholics. Nevertheless, the percentage obtained corresponds to that which Father Martin found last year: 2.36% instead of 2%. The Christian minority /185/ is represented above all by the Sérère and Casamançais element. We note simply that this percentage is slightly higher in the districts than in the quarters: 13.7% instead of 0.9%.

The table of the distribution of the heads of households -- comprised of women this time -- by ethnic group and religion offers a useful point of comparison. /Table 20 appears here./

Let us compare the average percentage of this table with that of the preceding one: we see that the proportion of Tidjanes and of Khadres decreases as one passes from the total population to the category of heads of households, while this proportion increases in the case of the Murids. This phenomenon indicates simply that the Tidjane and Khadre homes are relatively more numerous than the Murid homes, as is confirmed by the following table where we give the average number of individuals by homes, according to religious affiliation: /Table 21 appears here./

[Text continues on P. 46--Analyst]

SEE SRF SO 162 795

10: Thoré-43 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS37
Pikine MS21
Soninke MS30
Wolof MS32
Serer FA32
Fulani MS11
Tukolor MS31

Table 18. Religions /184/

Religion	Wolof	Sérère	Toucouleur	Sarakolé	Peul	Moors	Bambara	Other	Total
Tidjanes	8,790	340	3,990	680	1,000	40	460	120	15,420
Khadres	1,070	280	170	280	280	1,120	940	810	4,950
Murids	5,760	740	480	---	---	20	---	80	7,080
Layens	200	0	100	---	---	0	---	--	300
Without sect	130	20	120	---	---	80	---	--	350
Catholics	40	230	0	---	---	0	40	370	680
Total	15,990	1,610	4,860	960	1,280	1,260	1,440	1,380	28,780

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10: Thoré--44 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS37
Pikine
Wolof MS30
Serer FA32
Fulani MS11
Tukolor MS20
Soninke MS21

Table 19

/184/

Religion	Wolof	Sérère	Toucouleur	Sarakolé	Peul	Moors	Bambara	Other	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Tidjanes	54.97	21.11	82.1	70.8	78.1	3.1	31.9	8.7	53.58
Khadres	6.7	17.39	3.5	29.2	21.9	89	65.3	58.7	17.2
Murids	36.02	45.96	9.87			1.5		5.8	24.6
Layens	1.25	0	2.06						1
Without sect	0.81	1.24	2.47			6.4			1.22
Cathol.	0.25	14.3	0				2.8	26.8	2.36
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

10: Thoré--45 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS39
/185/
1962
095

Table 20

Ethnic Group / Religion	W	S	T	P	M	B	O	Av.
Tidjanes	48.2	27	74.5	78.6	7.1	22.2	11.4	47.4
Khadres	3.6	13.5	11.2	14.3	85.8	74.1	54.3	16.9
Murids	45.3	43.3	10.1	--	--	--	5.7	29.7
Layens	2.3	--	2.1	--	--	--	--	1.6
Without sect	0.3	5.4	2.1	7.1	7.1	--	--	1.6
Catholics	0.3	10.8	--	--	--	3.7	28.6	2.8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

/185 cont./

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Table 21

Confession	Tid.	Kh.	Mur.	Lay.	Without sect.	Cath.
Average number of individuals per home	5.86	5.27	4.29	3.33	3.88	4.25

Let us note that this remark applies to the Wolof, for the difference of percentage in the case of the Sérère or the Toucouleur is too slight to enable one to draw any valid indications from it.

/186/ Let us now compare the religious affiliation of the districts and the quarters. We have the following table, always in percentages, for the male heads of families within each of these two categories. /Table 22 appears here./

Table 22

Confession	Tid.	Kh.	Mur.	Lay.	Without sect	Cath.	Total
% Quarters	46.6	16	32.3	1.6	1.6	1.9	100
% Districts	54.8	19	7.1	2.4	2.4	14.3	100

Thus one observes two opposite movements: on the one hand, the percentage of all the sects increases as one passes from the quarters to the districts; on the other, this percentage decreases in the case of the Murids who are relatively and absolutely much more numerous in the quarters than in the districts. On the basis of this one could comment on the incompatability of Muridism and durable construction. Rather than launching ourselves on risky interpretations, let us content ourselves with observing the fact and noting that it runs in the same direction as the following observation obtained from the respective percentages of the literates and illiterates

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/186 cont./
of each sect. /Table 23 appears here./

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Table 23

Confession	Tid.	Kh.	Mur.	Lay.	Without sect	Cath.	Av.
Literate	22	8.5	10.3	22.2	11.2	50	21.5
Illiterate	78	91.5	89.7	77.8	88.8	50	78.5
Total	100						100

The number of Moslems declared as without sect is too small to give any valid information. The small number of literates among the Khadres comes from the Moors, and their proportion doubles if one does not take the latter into consideration. Hence there remain only the Murids, among whom the proportion of literates does not come to half /187/ of the average percentage: 10.3 instead of 21.5. If one cannot say that Muridism specifically encourages illiteracy, neither can one say that it develops a taste and desire for learning among its adepts; the foregoing fact would tend rather to show that it plays the role of a curb, voluntary or involuntary, in the same measure that illiteracy constitutes a force of inertia to be conquered and that education, on the contrary, perpetuates itself. In any case, the intellectual [571] elite of the Pikine population prefers to join the other sects.

VI. Habitat and Family

128 After having presented the social framework of the whole society of Pikine, we shall conclude this quick study by showing first the material factors that condition its mode of existence, and then a certain number of general considerations concerning the structure of the urban family.

/187 cont./

1) Housing Conditions

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342 The dwelling is in the first rank of these material factors. Of what is the house constructed, how many rooms are there, how is it occupied, etc.? There are all sorts of questions which must be answered in order to give a true picture of the conditions in which most of the families of Pikine live. What follows obviously applies only to the quarters, except where we specify that it is likewise a matter of the districts. Out of a sample of 281 structures one counts 206 in wood, 45 in durable material, 12 in "crinting" (1), and 18 in straw.

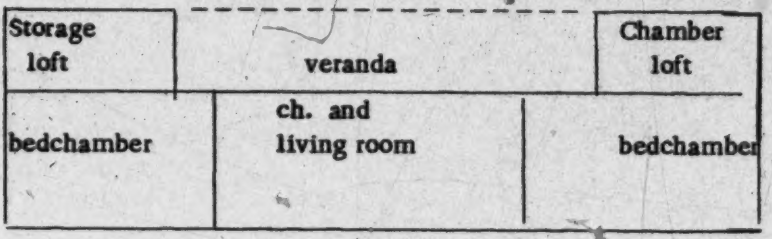
[285] 1. One calls "crinting" the walls whose framework is composed of plaited rushes and which are covered with a coating of sand and cement.

The chief material, used in more than 75% of the cases, is therefore wood, which one encounters in all forms: long building boards, ends of boxes, etc. The quality of the wood, the professional competence of the artisans, the size of the house, and the arrangement of the rooms, all these elements are combined to produce very different types of construction which run from the extreme dilapidation of the one-room hut with disjointed boards, gaping roof, and a sand floor, scarcely larger than a dog kennel, to the comfortable cottage consisting of several rooms, with ceiling and veranda, the price of [435] which may exceed 200,000 francs.

/188/ Except for these extreme cases, which are rare, most of the wooden dwellings can be divided into three principal types. The first is the house of two rooms, about six or seven meters long and three to three and one-half meters wide. The second is built in the same way, but contains a third room, which increases the length by three or four meters. These are two types of a purely functional model used to provide a shelter for personal objects and a roof for the night.

/188 cont./

362 342 In the third type the "veranda" appears, which distinguishes it from the first two; first of all, it materially increases the size of the dwelling, which reaches a width of five or six meters; on the other hand, this new element, superfluous /sketch appears here/ one might say, for there is a question



there of a necessary benefit -- already introduces a little complexity into the arrangement of the rooms and as a result encourages some organization of family life around a center. Moreover, this beginning is most often only a rough draft which reproduces the same pattern (see sketch above); nevertheless, this rough draft has the merit of existing and of translating into the material, into the surrounding environment, this sketchy effort toward a "home-life" /quoted in English/ of modern type.

In almost all cases the floor is slightly raised and cemented. There is practically never any ceiling, and the roof is constructed either with the aid of a sheet of metal or fibro-cement, or with a wooden frame covered with tar paper, for the disinherited.

351 How is the house placed within the parcel? It is practically impossible to answer this question, for there seems to be no general rule; sometimes the house is on the edge of the street and forms a wall; sometimes it is at the back of the parcel facing the road, and sometimes it extends perpendicularly to the length of a neighboring parcel. The only certain fact is that one does not /189/ come across a wooden house of any importance in the middle of the land. This is understandable because the parcel measures approximately 15 by 11. But

/189 cont./

351 there again the small one-room structures of wood or straw are an exception to the rule and are distributed at random over the concession.

Each owner or tenant likes very much to see his parcel clearly delimited, and the wall is the general rule. But its forms are very different, and this in one and the same parcel, ranging from the house itself or a high wall of durable material to a line of pickets running along a simple heap of rubble. In any case, the parcels that are not completely enclosed, with merely an opening on the street, are rare.

343 What else does one find within the parcel or in the
351 structures serving as dwellings? Two things: a little hovel sheltering the Madagascan stove and serving as kitchen, and then, in a corner of the parcel, an enclosure surrounded by
[783] secco, with a kettle containing the water needed for ablutions, which gives off a characteristic ammoniacal odor, yet not enough to inconvenience the inhabitants.

362 Let us complete this description with the table of the
511 number of buildings, shown according to the number of rooms
342 and the material used. /Table 24 appears here./

More than 50% of the wooden structures (113 out of 206) have only one or two rooms, that is, fall into the first category. Thus the whole habitat does not show a very high standard of living.

511 /190/ This is still more true if one now considers the
364 equipment of the huts. 228 homes out of 258, nearly 90 %,
354 have neither water, electricity, nor w.c. in the concession;
312 26 have electricity only; one has a w.c. without running water or electricity, one likewise has a w.c. plus electricity (in these two cases the w.c. consists of a septic pit dug into the sand in one corner of the parcel by the person concerned under the control of the Service d'hygiene). One has water and electricity. Ten per cent of the homes are thus lighted with electricity, and the remainder with kerosene, which is very few in a city where, except in the very last quarters, it is possible to have a meter installed in each parcel.

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10: Thoré--51 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS37
/189/

Table 24

Material \ Number of Rooms	1	2	3	4	5	6	7+	Total
Wood	46	67	27	25	27	4	10	206
Durable material	9	15	16	2	2	1	0	45
Crinting	3	3	1	0	2	3	0	12
Straw (1)	7	7	1	1	2	0	0	18
Total	65	91	45	29	33	8	10	281

1. Each hut of straw contains only one room. When we divide them up under the rubrics of 2, 3, or 5 rooms, this means that there are 2, 3, or 5 straw huts on the same parcel.

/190 cont./

511 Nevertheless, ingenuity and mutual helpfulness make up for
207 the poverty of the equipment, and if one comes across well over 10% of owners of radio sets, it is because in a number of cases the owner attaches his radio to the current which comes into the house of his immediate -- or distant -- neighbor.

364 A very serious inconvenience, as much from the point of
514 view of hygiene as from the point of view of comfort, results from the total absence of sanitary equipment. Without doubt, an enclosure on the parcel has its particular spot, but this little corner cannot serve everyone, and for those who are on the edge of the agglomeration it is the bush which serves as a comfort station; for the others whose parcel is located far from the outskirts it is the vacant land within Pikine. This state of affairs is unfortunate for many reasons: first of all, for a good many inhabitants it is a veritable expedition, in a word, to go to the toilet; one can imagine what this means for the old people or for the sick. Besides, it is unhealthy, and to get an idea of this it will suffice to go out one winter evening after a tornado and breathe this nauseous odor which the wind blows from the vacant land over the rest of the agglomeration (1).

1. At the beginning of 1961 the public authorities undertook the construction of several groups of "showers" in 12 places. One can only wish for the extension of the anticipated program and its rapid completion.

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511 In the districts, while all are not the owners of a
364 septic tank, the situation is better. Only 12% of the homes
354 are counted as not having either water, electricity, or w.c.,
312 12% have electricity in addition to w.c. without a water line in the concession, 21% have water and electricity, and the remainder, some 34%, have complete modern equipment. It should also be noted that the Office de l'Habitat no longer builds structures without a septic tank in its subdivisions.

[337]

/190 cont./

builds structures without a septic tank in its subdivisions. The difference between the two groups of habitat is therefore very noticeable: only the districts /191/ constitute a modern type of housing adapted to the exigencies of the city, while the vast majority of the inhabitants of the other quarters are deprived of the comfort which the modern city affords.

Can one say as well that they live in "shantytowns"? Certainly not. What characterizes the "shantytowns" is the crowding of the population in a limited space and the disorder of the huts. This is by no means the case here: the [363] streets, although of sand, are well defined, and, above all, the parcels are large; there is actual space with its psychological reverberation which permits the inhabitants of a parcel to feel that they are by themselves. To the further question asked, "what is it that you like about your housing in Pikine?" the replies have brought out the existence of this feeling of "home" /quoted in English/, of "one's own home," which in most cases was associated with the space occupied and the tranquility that it provided.

This material and psychological reality of free space is all the more important since one realizes, if one relates the number of rooms utilized to the number of persons, that the relative scantiness of space brings with it an undeniable crowding in many instances. Here (p. 55) is the table, in absolute figures, of the homes, which have been listed simultaneously according to the number of persons and according to the number of rooms. The horizontal line gives the number of persons, and the vertical line that of rooms. For example, in the case located at the intersection of horizontal line No. 2 and the vertical indicated by the figure 6 and 7, the number 12 means that there are 12 households in which the number of persons is six or seven and that they occupy only two rooms. The first table gives the distribution in the quarters, the second that of the districts.

The broken line in the middle of the table separates it into two parts; inasmuch as in general one room has an area of about ten square meters, we have considered that the

/191 cont./

511 limit of reasonable occupancy has been passed when one
362 figures an average of more than two persons per room. Thus at the left of this line are the households which do not exceed this relation of one room for two persons, at the right those for whom occupancy becomes crowded. Now let us add all the figures at the right of the line of separation, and let us refer this total of "crowded" homes in each table to the general total. One finds that this result, which one may call the "index of occupancy," is much higher in the districts than in the quarters: 26.4% as against 45.2%. This phenomenon indicates that the families are much more /192/ /Table 25 appears here/ numerous in the districts. It is possible to verify this in two ways: first, by comparing the average number of persons per household, which gives 7.43 as against 4.86; or else by constructing from the preceding tables the histogram of the various families in percentages. One then finds that in the first case the median runs between seven and eight persons, and in the second between four and five; in other words, that 47% of the homes in the districts have at least eight persons, while in the quarters one counts only 47% of the homes with five or more persons.

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511 The same tendency is shown in the matter of the rela-
352 tion of the furnishings to the number of persons. We have therefore drawn up a table identical to the preceding one and substituted the number of beds for the number of rooms, for it is the bed that constitutes the principal article of furniture. Obviously the data obtained do not have the same value, since it has not been possible /193/ /Table 26 appears here/ to distinguish the various kinds of beds: beds in one or two places, wooden or metal springs. Nevertheless, it is shown that the ratio of the number of persons to the number of beds is higher in the districts than in the quarters. The total result is the following: in the former 47, in the latter 38 beds per 100 persons. One finds only five or six instances where the bed is nothing but a simple mat thrown on the beaten earth in the huts of the quarters.

10: Thoré--55 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS37

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Table 25. Number of rooms per person. 1) Quarters.

	1	2	3	4	5	6-7	8-9	10 to 15	15 +	TOTAL
1	15	10	11	10	8	4	1	0	0	59
2	4	13	10	15	8	12	3	3	0	68
3	0	5	7	12	4	8	5	1	0	42
4	2	4	1	5	1	7	5	1	0	26
5	0	2	2	4	4	12	9	6	0	39
6	0	1	0	0	0	4	3	3	0	11
7 +	0	1	0	0	1	2	4	3	1	12
Total	21	36	31	46	26	49	30	17	1	257

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What can be concluded from these various remarks? That in general the inadequacy of housing conditions explains why the people of Pikine attach so much importance to the land of their parcel, and why this space, as much if not more than the interior, is the center of family life and activity. The rooms of the dwelling serve mainly as a shelter for sleeping and to screen a conversation or a tête-à-tête from indiscreet eyes and ears. During the day one is better off outside than inside, and this is the reason why the veranda is so important. It is the link /194/ between outdoors and indoors; when one is sitting there, one is outside in the air and yet sheltered from the rain, the sun, and the stifling heat inside.

In the second place, it is undeniable that augmentation of the comfort of the habitat is accompanied by an enlargement

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Table 26. -- 2) Districts

	1	2	3	4	5	6-7	8-9	10 to 15	15 +	TOTAL
1										
2			2	1	2	2	1			8
3		1	3		4	4	3	5		20
4	1					1	2	4	1	9
5				1			2		1	4
6						1				1
7										
Total.....	1	1	5	2	6	8	8	9	2	42

/194 cont./

511 592 of the family. This is an extremely important phenomenon. In order to understand it better, a study of the group occupying the parcel is now in order.

427 511 A first distinction arises regarding the mode of occupation. Aside from the tenants and owners of their parcels, there are also those who are neither the one nor the other and who live [592] gratuitously in a hut that does not belong to them, generally because of their kinship ties with the owner. Here is the table in percentages of these three categories arranged by ethnic groups. /Table 27 appears here./

[369] 62% of the occupants are thus owners, but we have seen that only 45% have been expelled from Dakar and have therefore from this fact become owners of the parcel that has been granted

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10: Thoré--57 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS 37

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Table 27

Ethnic Groups	W	S	T	P	M	B	O	Av.
Owner	67	58	60	53	50	63	68	62
Renter	19	23	32	30	42	27	18	23
Occupant without paying	14	19	8	17	8	10	14	15
Total	100							100

/194 cont./

511 them. As a result, a certain number of family heads, around
427 17%, are owners only because they have bought their parcel.
[369] This fact therefore shows that Pikine has become a choice locality where it is worth the trouble to spend money in order to establish oneself, and thus corroborates the hypothesis set forth above, that the evolution of Pikine today attests to an indisputable degree of urban maturity.

In the districts one counts only 9% who are tenants; all the others are owners or on the way to it. But while the rent of a room in a hut located in the quarters costs an average of 500 francs, the price is much higher in the districts, and this income permits the owner, who for his part is obliged to make a monthly payment to the Office de l'Habitat hardly higher /195/ than the amount of the rent, to acquire at the end of five years a dwelling by paying, in a word, only a ridiculous amount. It is difficult to evaluate the frequency of this abusive practice; in our sample it was three out of four tenants.

351 Another point has to do with the possibility of dividing
511 the parcel into half parcels or of two and even three homes being associated on the land of a single parcel. This possibility does not exist in the districts, where, in practice, economic obligations and the arrangement of the habitat as a rule require having only a single home per parcel. In the quarter, out of 264 homes, one counts 191 of them, namely, 72%, that are alone on the land; 46, or 17%, are in groups of two; and 27, or 11%, are in groups of three.

511 The types of association are very diverse, from the
592 households which are united by a bond of kinship and which represent 22% of the cases of association, that is to say, 6% of the total, to homes living on two half-parcels rigorously separated. The most frequent case is that of two unrelated households living together, who share, if not the same hut, at least the same inner court, each having its fire and doing its cooking separately. In general, the families thus grouped contain only a limited number of members, the scantiness of a half parcel not being favorable to the installation of numerous families. Since this factor does not

/195 cont./

511 592 exist in the districts, where the parcel is individual, one can see in it one of the reasons why the average number of individuals per home is higher there than elsewhere.

592 162 The analysis of the qualitative composition of the family group discloses another reason. Schematically one may distinguish four principal kinds of family, if one considers its qualitative composition: the lone adult; the adult living with one or more children, where it is a matter of his own or of young brothers; the family called "elementary," composed of the husband, his wife or wives, and their children; finally, the elementary family to which are added either the collateral relatives, or outsiders, or both.

Here (p. 60) is the table of the percentages of these different types listed by ethnic groups; the first is that of the quarters, the second that of the districts.

When one goes from the quarters to the districts, the total shows that:

1st. The number of elementary families increases.

2nd. The proportion of the "extended" families -- in the very broad sense of the term -- remains the same in the two cases.

/196/ 3rd. This increase in the rate of the conjugal family is thus due to the almost total disappearance in the districts of single persons living alone or in the company of children who are in their charge, especially divorced women. /Table 28 appears here./

592 162 595 One may ask whether this factor suffices in itself to explain this increase in the number of individuals per household which we have listed above. There is another difference between the districts and the quarters which may likewise contribute to this explanation: it is the rate of polygamy. We mean by that the number of household heads who are polygamists in relation to the total number of male heads of households. Out of 100 family heads 21 are polygamists in the quarters and 31 in the districts. The difference is notable.

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/196 cont./

Table 28

Ethnic Group	W	S	T	P	M	B	O	Av.
Type 1	8.4	17.6	7	7.7	21.4	9.1	12.5	9.7
2	9.1	17.6	2.3	7.7	0	9.1	0	7.4
3	39.9	35.3	48.8	61.5	50	54.5	62.5	44.7
4	42.6	29.5	41.9	23.1	28.6	27.3	25	38.2
Total	100							100
Type 1	5.9							2.4
2	0					20		2.4
3	70.6	33.3	50	50	--	60	33.3	57.1
4	23.5	66.7	50	50		20	66.7	38.1
Total	100							100

/196 cont./

511 595 The raising of the standard of living, which is symbolized and realized by the acquisition of a durable dwelling provided with modern conveniences, thus seems to go hand in hand with an increase in polygamy. Another factor should also be correlated with it: the educational level. The proportion of polygamists among the literate is higher than the corresponding proportion among the illiterate: 26.5% as against 21.6%.

511 But, as the preceding figures suggest, it seems that the principal cause is to be found in the improvement of economic conditions, and education in this case plays only the role of a /197/ second cause, which is the very thing that permits access to a higher income. Another index runs [602] along the same lines: the average number of persons under the care of the head of the family, persons who do not live in the concession, but either in the city or village. This average figure is distinctly larger for the districts: 219 as against 142 persons under the care of 100 heads of families, in addition to those who live with him.

It is now possible to draw some conclusions which are to be found at the point of convergence with the preceding remarks.

511 592 602 1) It does not seem that what is designated by the deplorable name of "familial parasitism" (1) can be held

> 1. It is not a question of denying the negative and paralyzing influence which a family can exert on the best of its members and which is ordinarily designated by the name of parasitism. But neither should one ignore the positive aspect of solidarity that makes up for the detrimental consequences of migration and eases for the immigrant the transition from the traditional environment to the urban environment.

responsible for the relative increase of the number of persons

/197 cont./

511 per home in the districts. This fact may be explained by two
592 other reasons: on the one hand, the disappearance of homes
602 reduced to single or divorced persons, in favor of the conjugal family; on the other hand, as part of this, an increase in the number of spouses.

2) Family solidarity is no less a patent fact in the districts than in the quarters. It works in two ways: the first consists of taking complete charge of the housing and support of brothers, nephews, or other relatives. This is shown in the figure of 38% of the families who extend beyond the framework of the conjugal family properly speaking. In this respect the inhabitants of the districts behave much the same as the others. But they make a greater effort with respect to the second form of family solidarity: sending money to relatives to all or part of their living expenses.

369 3) The betterment of living conditions and the participation to a certain degree in the material comfort that the urban environment brings with it do not necessarily mean a rupture and an overthrow of traditional social behavior. On the contrary, on two points, polygamy and family solidarity, there is a reinforcement of these behaviors, and, if one may apply this terminology to Senegal, it is not "detribalization" which should be spoken of, but "supertribalization."

/198/ Conclusion

Despite its youth, Dagoudane-Pikine is a definite city no less than Dakar, although closely dependent upon the latter. It is a city by reason of its area, the size of its population, the effort undertaken with regard to equipment, especially with regard to schools, and finally by the type of work offered to an important part of the economically active population. It is also a typical African city, with its small number of durable buildings, the considerable unemployment, the large number of young people, and above all, its gross
[444] deficiencies of public equipment. We have not spoken of its
[043] health equipment; it is still terribly inadequate, although

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369 a pharmacy has opened since the investigation took place,
[944] and the construction of a maternity hospital is in progress...
[943] Some large sewer works are to be undertaken.

369 On the other hand, it is certain that the material dif-
571 ference between the two habitat groups, very distinct geographically, brings about and expresses an indisputable sociological difference. The population of the districts enjoys superior conditions of comfort, it is better acculturated to the urban environment, the educational level there is higher on the average, and, on the occupational level, one finds there a large proportion of officials and minor staffs of industry and commerce. All these factors therefore contribute to accentuating a certain separation between two social layers. But at the same time that intégration into modern life and work and participation in the advantages and obligations of the urban environment alienate the inhabitants of the districts from traditional conditions, and by that even from their fellow-citizens who do not have the same advantages, a reverse movement of return to tradition or of reinforcement of former behaviors is discernible. There is thus not really a rupture: the family patterns, the relationships between man and woman, change less quickly than housing conditions, and this explains why the unity of the society has not been affected, at least not yet, by the recent change, and why the style of family life remains the same in the parcels of the quarters or in the enclosed concessions of the districts. A more detailed analysis of the conflicts of these contradictory forces belongs to another work.